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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

For a number of years I have been deeply interested in problems of pioneering, especially of pioneering in the tropics. My earlier studies were concerned with the possibilities of settlement in the tropics by peoples of other latitudes, both Westerners and Asiatics. In the course of these studies I became more and more interested in the fact that in many parts of the tropics, above all in the Asiatic tropics, there has been a great need for alleviation of the pressure of population. Occasionally this has led to spontaneous pioneering by small groups of settlers, but more frequently to the encouragement and support of pioneering by governments.

It was my original plan to visit all of the countries around the South China Sea and to study government-sponsored settlement activities in the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies, Malaya, and Indochina at first hand. The war, however, prevented me from visiting the mainland of Southeastern Asia; instead, I had to limit myself to the island world of the Philippines and the Netherlands Indies. From May 1940 to May 1941 I traveled throughout the islands of Luzon, Negros, Cebu, Mindanao, Java, Sumatra, and Bali. The war has also made impossible a rechecking of many of the references.

In the field I enjoyed the generous help of a large number of government officials as well as of private persons. In the Philippines I turned frequently for advice and assistance to Mr. Arthur F. Fischer, then President Quezon's adviser, who, as former Director of the Bureau of Forestry, has an unrivaled knowledge of the Philippine Islands. I am especially grateful to the staff of the National Land Settlement Administration.

In the Netherlands Indies I found the officials of the departments of Economic Affairs and of the Interior most kind and helpful. I wish to express thanks especially to Dr. H. J. van Mook, then Director of the Department of Economic Affairs, and to Messrs. A. Luytjes, J. J. Ochse, E. de Vries, A.M.M.P. Scheltema, A. K. Pringgodigdo, Th. J. Odenkirchen, P. Creutzberg, J. C. L. Götz van der Vet, J. F. Dekker, H. A. A. M. Wirtz, L. Gonggrijp, J. F. Kools, W. F. H. van Ameron, L. H. Vreeling, H. Loos, and W. E. K. Baron van Lynden, all of the Department of Economic Affairs. I am also greatly indebted to Governors C. O. van der Plas and L. Adam and to the following members of the Department of the Interior: Messrs. C. C. J. Maassen, J. M. Pieters, H. J. Friedericy, A. Jonkers, J. van der Zwaal, A. Deelemen, G. Ijsselstijn and G. de Lassequere.

To my wife, who accompanied me, I am deeply indebted for inspiration and encouragement as well as for keen criticism of the manuscript. Dr. Robert Bowman read the first part of the book with painstaking care; his criticism and suggestions were of great value to me. The late G.H.C. Hart read and criticized the chapters on the Netherlands Indies. I wish also to express my gratitude to Professor Leo Waibel, Dr. George F. Carter, and Messrs. Bruno Lasker and Philip Lilienthal for their helpful suggestions and to the editors for their work. The guidance of the U.S. Board

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and they are now less than one and a half million compared with the Chinese eight and a half or so in a total population approaching one hundred and sixty million. Nor can they compare with their fellow immigrants in wealth and influence. The Chinese in Southeast Asia are of the greatest political, economic, and social significance to the region and, indirectly, to the world as a whole, but until now no comprehensive study of them has been attempted. The considerations that have led me to venture to provide what is at least an outline of the subject are as follows.

To carry out the research necessary for an adequate history of the Chinese in the seven countries of the region (counting 'British Borneo' as one), together with a basic study of Chinese emigration into Southeast Asia and its causes, to collate the material, and to write the work itself would, in all reasonableness, take some seven or eight years. Moreover, the qualifications for embarking on such an enterprise should include, first, an extensive background knowledge of China and the Chinese, secondly, a close acquaintance with the several countries of Southeast Asia and their histories, and, thirdly, at least a working knowledge of a score of languages and dialects. Since no person of the necessary qualifications, leisure, or ambition appeared to be forthcoming, and the need for a primer on Chinese affairs in this region was urgent, I decided to be greatly daring and to try my hand at a single impressionistic volume. My qualifications fell far short of the desideratum, but among them were two years of study in Canton, a period of attachment to the Hong Kong Government, and an intimate contact with the Chinese in Malaya, as a Colonial official, for over a quarter of a century.[1] I had visited the countries themselves at different times (the last occasion being as consultant to the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in 1947), and I had an acquaintance with the Chinese written language and the Cantonese and Mandarin dialects as well as a working knowledge of French, Spanish, Italian, and Malay, with some German, Portuguese, and Dutch. I had also served an apprenticeship in the subject by writing a study of the Chinese in one country of the area.[2]

[1] Many appointments, held during this period, included those of magistrate, Protector of Chinese, Assistant Director of Education (Chinese), and Director-General of Information. Under the British Military Administration (1945–6) I was Colonel, Principal Adviser on Chinese affairs.

[2] *The Chinese in Malaya* (London, Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1948).

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115 and the Colonial Office, and, notably, from Miss Barbara Kyle, 127 librarian of Chatham House, and her staff who seemed never at a 122 loss to produce the most out-of-the-way books and periodicals, and from Miss K. M. L. Simpson, press librarian of Chatham House, whose staff were unfailing in providing cuttings on all sorts of subjects and at the shortest notice. The entire work has been edited by Mrs Dorothy A. Cannell with a care that has increased its precision and improved the diction.

Finally I should thank Miss Margaret Cleeve, the Research Secretary of Chatham House, and Mr W. L. Holland, the Secretary General of the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations, for their invaluable assistance. Without them and the machinery of their institutions I should have been unable to solicit the help of the above-mentioned experts and the project would have been stillborn.[1]

In order to bring the survey as up to date as possible, a Postscript is added, written in the course of a visit to all the countries of Southeast Asia in the second half of 1950. This visit was made possible by a grant for the purpose from the Rockefeller Foundation to the Institute of Pacific Relations.

August 1950 VICTOR PURCELL

● 121 [1] Since the main object of this study is to throw light on contemporary happenings, more attention has been paid to the history of the past two or three hundred years than to the earlier Chinese contacts with Southeast Asia. Indeed, as in my work on the Chinese in Malaya, interest in the Chinese begins in earnest from the time when they formed more or less settled communities in the region, and minor account is taken of trading voyages or isolated travellers.

The story is brought up to the moment of writing, which differs, of course, in the several parts. The section on Indonesia, for example, stops just before the second Dutch 'police action'; for Malaya the narrative is taken to February 1949.

That the authorities are mostly European rather than Chinese is due to the fact that the analytic and descriptive habit is of only recent growth among the Chinese of Southeast Asia.

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symbols of our age—the Petrol Pump, the Pylon, the 'Dust Bowl', the Automat, 'Mass Media', the chilling Neon Sign—there is a shrinking of the soul and a poignant yearning for the glory that was Angkor and the grandeur that was Chang An. Yet it is in its effective organs—the Assembly Line, the Tennessee Valley Authority, 'E.R.P.', and the Research Stations—that our robotic civilization throbs; not in the cult of lost causes or impossible loyalties, nor in our academies, our museums, nor our half-empty cathedrals.

At least it is the material aspects of our civilization which appeal to the awakening consciousness of the peoples of the Far East. Whether they will adopt capitalist, socialist, or communist social organization as a means of securing the coveted gadgets of the West that mean a higher standard of living is another matter. Dr Joseph Needham, for example, says that there is no reason to think that the Chinese will not make as convinced socialists as anybody else, but that there are certain directions in which Chinese thinking might have a profound effect upon the nature of the society of the future, perhaps in the matter of juristic security of the individual, and in the forms which the numinous will take in that society. However, there is far less reason to believe that they will adopt democracy, and Communism, being dictatorial, they will probably find more natural and acceptable than democratic socialism.[1]

This survey is of the Chinese in the regions of Tropical Asia, and often in the course of our narrative the question already posed as to the power of this and other peoples to absorb Western ideas without changing their own essential nature will arise either tacitly or explicitly. In other words, can the basic institutions of these peoples meet the impact of Western industrial civilization or of Marxism without disintegrating?

Chinese civilization is based on ancestor worship, the family system, on Confucianism (which incorporates these principles), and on Buddhism and Taoism. The staunchest supporters of these religions could scarcely deny that Buddhism and Taoism as moral forces are in complete decay in China and have been so for a very long time.[2] Whatever their surviving effectiveness they cannot by

[1] J. Needham, 'Confucianism after 2000 Years', in the *Manchester Guardian*, 29 August 1949.

[2] To realize the formalism and religiosity into which Buddhism had declined by last century, one has only to observe the *chü-jen* (M.A.) of the late Ch'ing dynasty who, to prepare his character for office, suddenly takes an interest in practical benevolence. He ostentatiously burns incense and gives alms. If he sees

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heart to the terrorists in their 'hide-outs' in the almost limitless jungles of Malaya.

Such is the outline of the story we shall have to tell. What, then, is the philosophy of this Chinese migration?

If they had been called upon to deal with the Chinese of Southeast Asia, the great historians would have treated it according to their enlightenment and the age they lived in. Gibbon, for example, if he were restored from the grave, would assuredly regard the activities of all modern Chinese as a progressive falling away from the Chinese Age of the Antonines, the dynasty of T'ang. It is unlikely that he would show any undue sympathy for the colonists who were so little steeped in the national culture. Mommsen would find no Chinese Caesar overseas, and would assuredly disdain these simple annals. Macaulay, brought back to life, most probably would have dutifully accepted the task of writing the history of the Chinese in the Nanyang were it imposed upon him, and he would assuredly have devoted his opening chapters to describing the squalid sufferings of the pioneer coolie in his blue trousers, rope-soled shoes, and broad-brimmed hat, his naked body sweating under a tropical sun, and more chapters to an imposing picture of his magnificent mansion,[1] his fleet of shining motor-cars, and (maybe?) his bevy of concubines after he had got on in the world.

But we must pass from this diverting speculation to an interpretation of our task stated in our own terms. It is to make actual an important and striking phenomenon of recent times, the overflow of the Chinese in large numbers into Southeast Asia, to demonstrate the problems caused by this overflow, and, if possible, to help place the general historian, the politician, the administrator, the diplomat, and the merchant in a state of mind congenial to a better understanding of the Chinese overseas. This understanding may suggest an approach to the practical questions of the area in the next decade or so which will benefit both West and East.

If one fact has impressed the writer of this survey more than another in the course of his study, it is the feebleness of the attempt made by the Colonial Powers and the indigenous Governments in this area to understand the overseas Chinese and their problems.

[1] The lesser, but less awestruck, Lytton Strachey would probably make a sly reference to the electro-plated vacuum cleaner or thermos flasks, for ornament and not for use, in the drawing-room of the self-same mansion.

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to survival, and, if the latter is the choice, to what modifications will it be subjected by the genius of the race.[1]

What now follows is a summary of the distribution of the Chinese in Southeast Asia, an account of the earlier contacts, and of some aspects of the subject common to the area. The separate country studies will then ensue followed by a concluding chapter with a summary and a balance-sheet.

[1] In a cable of 6 October to Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese People's Government, thirty Chinese associations, schools, and newspapers in Batavia expressed satisfaction at the formation of the new Chinese central Government and promised it support. *The Times*, 7 October 1949.

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their numbers are at present not very great in comparison with the Filipinos, the economic position of the Chinese in the Philippines based, as ever, on their control of trade (they owned, before 1941 at least, three-quarters of the rice-mills), has been maintained in the face of determined attempts by Filipino Nationalists to oust them from it.

So much will serve as a general introductory survey of the distribution of the Chinese in Southeast Asia: in the first chapter of each country study contained in the successive parts of this survey, the subject will be dealt with in much greater detail.

The sketch-map of the principal places of origin in China of the Chinese in Southeast Asia, reproduced on p. 9, has been designed by the author and executed by Geographia Ltd., and is subject to the following considerations. The shading indicates roughly the distribution in China of the several tribes represented overseas, but in the case of the Hakkas, of whom small communities are to be found throughout Kwangtung intermingled with the Cantonese,[1] only the areas most densely populated by them are shown in the map. Nor must it be assumed that the overseas Chinese come equally from all over the shaded areas. The fact (as Dr Ta Chen has pointed out) is that the communities from which the emigrants are drawn exist side by side with non-emigrant communities, and enjoy a higher standard of living than the latter.

[1] See L. Richard, *Comprehensive Geography of the Chinese Empire and Dependencies* (Shanghai, Tu-se-wei Press, 1908) p. 207.

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What has been given above is only a brief outline of a vast subject of which the facts are, for many periods, largely unprecipitated. In an attempt to confine this survey to manageable proportions and to give it a contemporary focus, we have adopted the principle that our interest in the Chinese of Southeast Asia begins in earnest only when they had formed permanent settlements, and it is true to say that the majority of such settlements still remaining, outside Annam and Tongking, were founded within the last 350 years. Nevertheless, we should not forget that the stream of Chinese immigration into the region, swelling into spate in the second and third decades of the present century, was but an expansion of long pre-existing rivulets of intercourse.

After the great military expeditions of the early Mings, the urge to imperial expansion overseas appears to have gone out of the Chinese. The self-contained spirit of the Middle Kingdom reasserted itself and the Emperors were content with adventures by land. It would indeed be harder to explain why the urge arose at all than why it subsided so soon. The fact remains that whereas the colonization of the Europeans followed in the wake of their fleets and soldiers or to lands obtained by treaty from the native rulers, the Chinese in the last three and a half centuries have entered Southeast Asia either as visiting merchants or as suppliants for permission to remain from the Javanese Sultans, or from the Spanish, Dutch, British, or French. They came no more as haughty emissaries of the Dragon Throne, armed to the teeth to enforce the imperial will, but as humble and peaceable shiploads of traders, artisans, or coolies, waiting, like Czech or Italian peasants on Ellis Island, for permission to enter the land of promise. But their meekness and peaceableness were in the long run to be far more forceful than the militancy of the Europeans; for where the latter came in their tens the Chinese came in their thousands, and when the Europeans have gone, they will remain.[1]

[1] While this Survey was in the press there appeared 'The Khmer Empire and the Malay Peninsula', by Lawrence Palmer Briggs, *Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. ix, no. 3, May 1950, which adds valuable source material for Sino–Southeast Asia contacts.

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CHAPTER IV

SPECIAL ASPECTS OF CHINESE SOCIETY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

MOST readers of this survey will be acquainted, at least in a general way, with the problems of China itself and with the direction in which the people of that country have moved in the last fifty years. What will be attempted in this chapter will be to illustrate the way in which the Chinese of Southeast Asia have in some respects deviated from the central pattern under the influence of local conditions. We shall select for this purpose the special aspects of the family, marriage, religion, and education, with some remarks on the opium question. As regards politics, Chapter XXXI, dealing with Chinese political organization in Malaya, brings out the developments which are typical of the area as a whole, and to this the reader is referred should he wish to gain a general impression of the matter before proceeding to the separate country studies.

The Family. An excellent starting-point for our chapter is the work of Dr Ta Chen, who, in 1934 and 1935 was in charge of a group of investigators studying the emigrant communities in eastern Kwangtung and southern Fukien under the auspices of the International Research Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations.[1] The area selected for study was a region from which many of the emigrants to the Nanyang originated and where their families mostly live. It is on the sea coast of the two southernmost maritime provinces and consists of ten *hsien* (counties). Roughly speaking, it includes a long strip of territory beginning at Chao An (formerly Chao Chou), passing through Swatow on the Kwangtung border, and through Amoy, and ending at Chuan Chou (Ch'üan-chow) in Fukien. It is an area of a little less than 5,000 square miles with a total population of a little over 4·6 million in 1935.[2]

[1] Ta Chen (the name is properly Chen Ta, Chen being the surname, and it is thus given in some library catalogues), *Emigrant Communities in South China: a Study of Overseas Migration and its Influence on Standards of Living and Social Change*, English ed. by Bruno Lasker (New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940).

[2] Though all the *hsien* have sent emigrants to the Nanyang the area does not constitute the sole source of emigration to the south, even from these two provinces. For example, Mei Hsien and vicinity, the principal home of the Hakkas and the largest source of Hakka emigration, is not included in this area.

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permissible to take immediate steps to introduce the necessary measures to prevent the manufacture of and trade in prepared opium for the purpose of smoking. 276

It remains to be seen how far this complete prohibition can succeed. Everything turns on the ability of the Governments to control smuggling and, in the final issue, on the effectiveness of international control of the manufacture and distribution of narcotics. It is not only opium that is the problem, but also an increasing number of even more harmful substitutes.

A number of other matters have strong claims for inclusion as 'special aspects of Chinese society in Southeast Asia', but it is thought desirable to limit this chapter to its present dimensions (for enough has been said to illustrate the general nature of the deviations from the central problems in China itself) and to start in the next Part the detailed narrative of the Chinese in Burma, Siam, Indochina, Malaya, British Borneo, Indonesia, and the Philippines.[1] In journeying with them for three centuries or more through jungle and defile, over the mountain passes of the Shan States or through the myriad islands of the Philippines, in sojourning with them in tin mine, on rubber estate, or in godown, in listening to what they have to say and what is said of them, we shall learn much and prepare ourselves better for our final task of assessing the advantage or the detriment of this people to the countries in which they have come to work or trade, and often to settle, and of adumbrating (if we dare) the future of the race in Southeast Asia. 121●

[1] The order is arbitrary.

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a state of flux. This is no new phenomenon: it has happened a score of times in Chinese history and each time China has found a new level of stability. It was (it has been said) like a cube; overthrown by civil convulsion it falls flat on another side and is once more the same solid mass. Will it be so again? This is the moot question. The forces causing the upheaval are more powerful and destructive than ever before. They are the same forces which have shaped and are shaping the materialistic, sceptic, technological method of life that we in the West know as civilization. Can China receive the full impact of these forces and remain essentially the China of all time? The event alone will answer this, though it may be nearer than we imagine in the ever-accelerating tempo of change.

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These are long-term, philosophical questions. The more immediate practical question for the Chinese of Southeast Asia, for the peoples among whom they live, and for the rest of the world that has contact or dealings with this area (which is, in effect, everyone), is how this vital and active people will fit into the dispensation of to-morrow. It is a question that every diplomat, administrator, merchant, or student of international affairs should tax his mind to answer in advance of the event, and for this task a necessary preliminary is some knowledge of the nature, the development, and the aspirations of the overseas Chinese. This is what this work, in small compass, attempts to supply.

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A visit to Southeast Asia during the third quarter of 1950 after an absence of nearly three years brought home to the writer the accelerated tempo of the change that the countries were undergoing, and, in particular, the dominant role which the politics of China were playing therein. As a tailpiece to this survey he has recorded the impressions of his visit, bringing the account as nearly up to date as the exigencies of publishing would allow. The observations are set down in the order in which the countries were visited.

In his many discussions with statesmen, diplomats, officials, business men, and others in these Southeast Asian countries, the writer became aware of a considerable disagreement among them regarding the number of Chinese in the area. There was, in the case of Siam and Indochina in particular, no figure that was generally accepted. The definition of 'Chinese' was an initial difficulty (as it has so often been in the course of this survey) for many Chinese appeared to possess a dual racial character, discarding one aspect and assuming the other as circumstances suggested.[1] It seemed also that that clandestine immigration into Siam, Indochina, and the Philippines and (perhaps) Indonesia within the last two or three years, had been very considerable, for during this period the immigration laws had been greatly tightened. The writer was compelled, therefore, to revise the estimates he had made in the demographic chapters of the survey to suit the probable facts of 1950 and to adopt a total not very far short of 10 million ethnic Chinese for the whole of Southeast Asia. This estimate, however, does not materially alter the ratio of Chinese to other races in the area and has no very important bearing on the general political and economic considerations which have been described in the text.

Burma. In July 1950 the Chinese Nationalist ambassador had left Burma, and one other official of the embassy had also gone away, but the remainder of both the embassy and consular staff had agreed to serve under the People's Government of China which was now recognized by the Burmese Government. Two of the staff had already been summoned to Peking for indoctrination. The new ambassador, Dr Yu, was expected to arrive in Rangoon in August. In the meantime the staffs were not being paid and the only income available was that derived from the sale of (Nationalist) passports.

At this time an incident in the Burmese Shan State of Keng-tung near Siam was the subject of a number of rumours. A force of Chinese

[1] Thus in Siam, the President of the Thai Chamber of Commerce, of very obvious Chinese race or extraction but with a Thai name, denounced vehemently the tactics of business men of acknowledged Chinese nationality in their dealings with the Thais.

PREFACE.

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The three studies which comprise this report constitute part of a larger study of the development of self-government and independence in dependent and formerly dependent countries of the Pacific area. The original intention of the American Institute of Pacific Relations was to publish a single volume covering all of these areas, and including chapters on American policy with respect to dependencies and trusteeship. Because of the rapid development of nationalist movements and steps towards self-government or independence in many parts of the Far East, it has now been decided to issue the report of the project in several volumes. Those dealing with such important areas as Indonesia and Indochina will be published as books during 1948. Plans for completion of the volume on Indochina by Professor Lauriston Sharp and Miss Ellen Hammer are already well advanced. Arrangements are also being made for a volume on Indonesia by Professor Raymond Kennedy, Mr. Paul Kattenburg and Miss Jeanne Mintz.

The present volume dealing with Burma, Malaya and the Philippines provides a useful comparative sketch of the policies followed by the British and American Governments in fostering the development of self-government and independence under markedly differing conditions. The three essays do not claim to be comprehensive inquiries into the political development of the three areas, but it is hoped that they will serve a useful purpose in providing a concise comparative survey of the main lines of policy followed in three areas where the development of self-rule has proceeded in a more peaceful and orderly fashion than in such areas as Indochina and Indonesia.

Two of the authors, Mr. Cady and Mrs. Barnett, are members of the research division of the State Department and because of this they have not always been in a position to write as freely about certain controversial points as might otherwise have been the case. The American I.P.R. is grateful to them for their cooperation in revising and expanding earlier drafts of their reports. Thanks are also due to Mrs. Jenkins and to several other persons who kindly aided her in the preparation of the chapter on the Philippines. For a much more detailed analysis of recent American relations with the Philippines the reader may be referred to Mrs. Jenkins's mimeographed report, "United States Economic Policy towards the Philippine Republic" prepared for the Stratford Conference of the I.P.R. in September, 1947. A revised and enlarged version of this report is now being prepared for publication in book form by the American I.P.R., about March, 1948. Those readers who desire a full account of the development of Burma may be referred to the forthcoming volume, "An Economic Handbook of Burma", by J. Russell Andrus, to be published shortly for the American I.P.R by the Stanford University Press.

The American I.P.R. is deeply indebted to Mrs. Eleanor Lattimore for her excellent work as general editor of this project in its earlier stages. Thanks are also due to several members of the International Secretariat of the I.P.R., particularly to Mr. William L. Holland, Mr. Philip E. Lilienthal and Miss Mary F. Healy for assistance in editing and production of this report. Though it appears under the auspices of the American I.P.R., it should be emphasized that the authors alone are responsible for statements of fact, or opinion in their respective chapters.

New York,
January 5, 1948.

EDWARD C. CARTER
Executive Vice-Chairman
American Institute of Pacific Relations.

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PREFACE

THE aim of this book is to present a picture of environmental conditions and human adaptations in Southeast Asia which shall provide the student with a basic text and at the same time stimulate the sociologist, the administrator, the politician and the businessman to see the relation of their work to the general field. It is assumed that readers will already know modern writings on the physical, environmental and social aspects of geography, and the text dwells at length only on those circumstances peculiar to Southeast Asia and its people.

This book is not a dictionary, a gazetteer or an encyclopaedia. It is one of the first studies of locational perspectives in Southeast Asia, the critical importance of which became apparent during the last war when the scarcity of information demonstrated how little study had been given to the region as a whole.

The book is divided into three parts. The first pictures the natural setting, the second goes from this basis into the human details of each political unit, and the third ties together the social geography of Southeast Asia, to pose some of its present problems.

All money references have been converted into Straits dollars (2s. 4d. or U.S. 47 cents) partly because this currency had wide pre-war usage in the region, partly because it is the one with a simple and fixed relation between its post- and pre-war values. The object has been not to overload the text with statistics which are best obtained fresh from the latest year-books. At every stage in reading this book, reference should be made to the topographic maps of Southeast Asia, which now exist in fair quantity.

The author thanks Professor E. G. R. Taylor for her advice on this work and her encouragement at many stages of his career, and Professor L. D. Stamp for his kindness in reading and advising on the manuscript. Those pioneer scholars of the area, whose papers are listed in the bibliography, and upon whose work the author has of necessity drawn liberally for facts, are also thanked. In addition he is heavily indebted to his wife for her continued patience and co-operation at every stage in the production of this book.

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PREFACE

●121 642 THIS book originated in a request from the Government of Burma at the end of 1942 for my views on reconstruction, with particular reference to features of colonial rule in Netherlands India that might suitably be adopted in Burma. One cannot transplant administrative machinery without reference to the environment; in a new environment it may work better or worse, but it certainly will not work in the same way. It was necessary therefore to emphasize the fact that British and Dutch colonial policy are founded on different traditions. Two basic principles of British colonial policy are the rule of law and economic freedom, whereas Dutch colonial policy has aimed at imposing restraints on economic forces by strengthening personal authority and by conserving the influence of custom.

121 642 182 In modern Burma under British rule there were five notorious evils: the failure of western self-governing institutions; the growth of debt and agrarian distress; the multiplication of litigation and crime; the rise of disaffection and unrest among the Buddhist clergy; and widespread corruption in the judicial and administrative services. I suggested that these can all be traced to a common cause: the disintegration of social life through the inadequacy of law to control the working of anti-social economic forces. Although in other respects Dutch rule is open to criticism which does not apply to Burma, yet in all these matters Netherlands India presents a notable contrast. We would not, even if we could, abandon what is valuable in the traditions of British rule, and in any case we cannot break suddenly with old traditions, or escape the consequences of the past. But the contrast indicates that we ought to incorporate in our policy the principle of controlling economic forces in the interest of social welfare. I tried accordingly to show how, by adapting certain devices of Dutch administrative machinery, this principle might be applied to cure the ills of modern Burma, and to lay the basis of a new and constructive policy.

121 While formulating these proposals it occurred to me that the comparison between Burma and Netherlands India might be of somewhat more general interest. In presenting it to a wider public there was,

7: Furnivall G-4, 5 (no date) 1948 AL1 Southeast Asia AL1

121 however, one obvious difficulty. The officials for whom the original note was written shared with the writer a common knowledge of Burma and its administration. For readers without such special knowledge it was necessary to trace the course of development more closely and to illustrate the results more clearly, even at the risk of multiplying tedious detail. Another difficulty, still more formidable, may be less obvious. For undesirable features of British rule in Burma, British officials, conscious of their good intentions, naturally tend to blame the Burman; Burmans, no less naturally, blame the British. Similarly in Netherlands India we find mutual recriminations between Dutch and Indonesians. Only by eliminating so far as possible all personal and local factors can one arrive at a just estimate of any particular experiment in colonial rule. It seemed necessary therefore to frame the comparison between Burma and Netherlands India in a general survey of colonial policy and practice. For such a survey, however, they provide a convenient introduction by presenting respectively extreme types of the alternative systems of direct and indirect rule.

114 In venturing further afield one was inevitably treading on uncertain ground. I was at home in Burma. After more than twenty years in the Civil Service, I was occupied for some time in business and in the direction of an agricultural bank, and also had the privilege of being associated with the University of Rangoon and the Education Department in various educational experiments. With the ready assistance of Dutch and Indonesian authorities I have made some study of Netherlands India, and I have visited Malaya, Siam and Cochin China. I also have some personal acquaintance with administration in British India. But of Africa, the other great field of colonial rule, I knew nothing at first hand. Fortunately it was possible to turn for information to Lord Hailey's great *African Survey*, and the extent of my debt to it will be readily apparent. It would be hard to say how much I owe to the voluminous writings of Dutch colonial experts, but among them I must mention in particular Dr J. H. Boeke, Professor of Tropical Economy in Leiden University, and Mr Meijer Ranneft, formerly Vice-President of the Raad van Indië. It is impossible for me to express adequately my gratitude to my friend Mr G. E. Harvey, for the care with which he read the first proofs of this book and for his

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NOTE

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THIS BOOK constitutes a report of a longterm project in the international research program of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The disturbed conditions in Southeast Asia have made it impossible to deal as fully as had originally been hoped with the wartime and postwar labor problems of the area. Many of these more recent developments, however, will be discussed in the author's forthcoming study of the effects of the Japanese occupation in Southeast Asia. This new study will probably be published under the auspices of the American Institute of Pacific Relations during 1948.

Thanks are due to Mr. Bruno Lasker for editorial and other assistance in the preparation of the supplement to the book, and also to Mr. Wilfrid Benson for his Preface. Although the book is issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the author alone is responsible for statements of fact or opinion presented in it.

William L. Holland
Secretary-General

New York
July 1947

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In this general problem of Southeast Asia, it would be dangerous to neglect the contributing problems of labor standards and labor policies. It is true that the population is predominantly peasant, that the wage earner usually comes from and returns to his land and that wage standards must remain low so long as peasant standards of living are low. Yet with all this, a social revolution was taking place during the colonial period and will spread if the expanding population is to live. In Southeast Asia, as in the rest of the world, this will involve an exodus from the country to the town and to a certain extent, from agriculture to industry. In the country, it will involve the acceleration of the change from subsistence to cash farming, an increase of wage earning as a normal means of making a living, and the penetration of the effects of employment to villages which are as yet remote. And neglect is more than possible. Whereas under colonial rule indigenous leaders were being increasingly associated in the political functions of government, their participation in and training for the complexities of modern production were hopelessly inadequate. Now, not only are the trained technicians scanty, but it is possible that the feudal, static traditions of the countries will leave local opinion indifferent to the lot of the men and women laboring outside the established practices.

Miss Virginia Thompson's studies on labor problems in Southeast Asia are therefore not merely of value to the labor expert and the sociologist; they are of political importance. Despite the difficulties of research when many of the detailed reports were unobtainable and few persons could be consulted on practical conditions, so that some of her statements may be open to question, she has been able to present a valuable synthesis of labor laws and of the problems confronting the administrations, managements and workers in Western undertakings. She has also sketched with skill the postwar developments which appear to be of greatest significance. Whether or not the future will bring out other changes than those she indicates, it seems certain that throughout the period of settlement there will be a close connection between political peace and progress and labor peace and progress. Therefore, that she has political opinions which color her judgment on labor conditions is not a criticism. Without political opinions, any survey of the labor situation would be merely academic.

As Miss Thompson indicates, in many respects the labor policies of the colonial powers were progressive. For some time attention was confined to the regulation of plantation and mining labor, but from the late thirties the importance of a comprehensive labor policy was receiving increased recognition. It could no longer be thought that the administrations' chief responsibility was for conditions of employment on the estates and mines in respect of which they controlled the labor supply. Problems of modern employment were being tackled through minimum wage

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SUPPLEMENT

NOTES ON LABOR DEVELOPMENTS IN 1946–47

●121 A JOURNEY UNDERTAKEN by the author between December 1946 and June 1947 to some of the principal cities of Southeast Asia had for one of its objects the collection of information on the latest developments in the region's labor conditions and labor movements. Although it proved not yet possible to secure detailed statistical data on employment, wages, and other indices for the postwar period, this investigation helped to confirm the existence of certain trends previously observed and to open up, in a few instances, new vistas of a vigorous pursuit of progress, either on the part of a government or on that of organized labor.

467 On the whole, the period was found to be one of great uneasiness.
727 There was throughout the region a sense of insecurity because of the distorted structure of its major export industries. There was a sense of insecurity also in circles which, unable to accept the radical change in political and economic power that had come over large parts of the world, feared any movement which might tend to increase the political orientation of organized labor. On the other hand, there was also the natural hesitation of those seriously devoted to the promotion of progressive and liberalizing labor legislation to promote or enact measures which, with the present disturbance of social relations, it might prove difficult to enforce. Organized labor itself reflected the cleavage, to be found at this time also in industrially more advanced parts of the world, between a leadership satisfied to do the best it could within the technical limits of traditional trade union practices and one primarily thinking in political terms and desiring the most rapid possible assimilation of the local labor forces to the revolutionary international labor movement.

121 Only a few illustrations can here be given of these various tendencies as the author observed them or heard of them from authoritative spokesmen for government, labor, and professional management. These notes are offered as carrying a little further into the uncertain future the picture presented in the major part of this book. They sketch a passing phase in one of the most dramatic developments of our time: the effort of an important section of the world's workers to raise their status from an age-old level of 250
oppression and neglect to one of worthwhile human existence.

M: Heine-Geldern E-4 (no date) 1942 ALI Southeast Asia ALI

CONCEPTIONS OF STATE AND KINGSHIP IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

ROBERT HEINE-GELDERN

American Museum of Natural History, New York

121 643 AT A time when the whole political system of Southeast Asia seems to be on the verge of complete reshapement and when a new cycle of development, dominated by native forces, may be expected to emerge from the present turmoil, an inquiry into the ideological foundations of native government will not be out of place and, perhaps, will even be of more than purely theoretical interest. What were the religious and philosophical conceptions which underlay and shaped the states of Southeast Asia? Are they still living forces with which we have to count or are they dead and gone? Is it possible to inoculate new ideas into old traditions, thereby avoiding a complete break with the past, a dangerous uprooting of oriental thought and culture?

In view of the limited space I shall confine myself to a discussion of some fundamental conceptions of state and kingship in those parts of Southeast Asia where Hindu-Buddhist civilization prevailed.

MACROCOSMOS AND MICROCOSMOS

772 643 The primary notion with which we shall have to deal is the belief in the parallelism between Macrocosmos and Microcosmos, between the universe and the world of men. According to this belief humanity is constantly under the influence of forces emanating from the directions of the compass and from stars and planets. These forces may produce welfare and prosperity or work havoc, according to whether or not individuals and social groups, above all the state, succeed in bringing their lives and activities in harmony with the universe. Individuals may attain such harmony by following the indications offered by astrology, the lore of lucky and unlucky days and many other minor rules Harmony between the empire and the universe is achieved by organizing the former as an image of the latter, as a universe on a smaller scale.

171 772 643 It is well known that this astrological or cosmo-magic principle, as we may call it, originated somewhere in the Near East. It was well established in Babylonia in the 3rd millennium B.C. and there are indications that it may go back there at least as far as the middle of the 4th millennium, and possibly farther. Again, we have indications that it existed in Northwest India in the

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Standards for defining urban populations differ, but it can be assumed safely that no more than 15 per cent of the 175 million people of Southeast Asia belong in an urban category.[2] In contrast, in the United States, with a population somewhat smaller than that of Southeast Asia as a whole, over 64 per cent of the population is classified as urban.

Estimates for 1952 indicate only 30 cities or urban agglomerations with populations of 100,000 or more.[3] In the United States, however, there are 160 such urban areas; in the Soviet Union, with a population of 200 millions, there are about 120; and in Japan, with one-half the population of Southeast Asia, there are 64. In Southeast Asia only an estimated 7 per cent of the total population lives in cities of 100,000 or more; less in Burma, Indochina, Thailand, and Indonesia; somewhat more in the Philippines. Only Malaya, including Singapore, departs

[1] Revised from a paper read before the Far Eastern Association in Spring, 1954.

[121] As used here, "urbanization" connotes not only mere numerical increases in the population of cities but also the development of an urban way of life and the accompanying changes in value orientation (cf. Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1938).

[2] Census data for Southeast Asia are notably incomplete. In Burma, Thailand, and the Associated States of Indochina the "urban" population is estimated to be little more than 10 per cent of the whole; in Indonesia still less; but in the Philippines some 24 per cent of the population is classified as urban; and in Malaya, including the Crown Colony of Singapore, about 35 per cent. Wjthout Singapore, only 27 per cent of the Malayan population is classified as urban.

113 [3] *United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1952.*

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THE PEASANTRY OF SOUTH EAST ASIA [1]

PROFESSOR RAYMOND FIRTH, F.B.A.

000 IF it is not wholly true that the social and economic reconstruction which is so necessary in Asia today must begin with the peasant, it is certain that no programme which omits the peasant can be on firm foundations. The recent history of China is evidence enough for this. My concern, as a social anthropologist, is with the analysis and classification of social relations between people and groups of people, rather than with political or economic affairs as such, although inevitably I cannot disregard them. So my aim is to show briefly some of the most important aspects of the social organization of the South East Asian peasant communities, and of the values by which this organization works. Though the details in my paper refer mainly to Malaya and Indonesia, I think the generalizations have some value for the South East Asian region as a whole.

If the basic features of the peasant society are ignored, one can understand neither the peculiar tenacity which it still possesses in modern conditions, nor the reactions of its members to the increasing impact of external economic and political forces. The definition of a peasant is a countryman—a man engaged in rural pursuits, primarily agriculture, with a comparatively simple technology and a special interest in the land he works. In South East Asia one may extend the application of the term to cover the majority of fishermen and even village craftsmen too. They are of the same social class as the agriculturalists, and often members of the same families. As occupational groups, they may even be separable only in theory, since many a peasant farmer is also a fisherman or craftsman by turns, as his seasonal cycle or his cash-needs influence him. What R. H. Tawney has said of agriculture—that it is at once a craft, a business, and a manner of life—can be applied more widely here; the problems of all these peasants alike are partly technical, partly financial and commercial, and partly cultural and social.

It is difficult to say just what proportion of the present population of South East Asia may be classed as peasants. It would seem that in nearly every South East Asian country two-thirds or more of the total population is to be found in agricultural communities, tilling the soil. In 1930 the census of Java and Madura in Indonesia gave about 70 per cent of the male workers as dependent for their livelihood on native agricultural output, and about 75 per cent in the regions of Indonesia outside Java and Madura, while large numbers of women were engaged in home craft production. In Siam, in about 1930, almost 90 per cent of the population lived in agricultural communities, rice production providing the living of about 80 per

[1] Originally delivered at a meeting at Chatham House on 21 February 1950.

INTRODUCTION

●121 The present study is in many ways a by-product of the writer's work in the general field of Far-Eastern linguistics. While engaged in investigations on the phonological systems of the Tibeto-Burman languages, Karen, Chinese, and Thai, the writer was obliged to devote a good share of his attention to the intricate and varied problems raised by semantic shifts occurring within widespread roots for kinship terms. The consideration of some of these more elementary problems led to attempts at working out individual kinship nomenclatures, and beyond this to a correlation of the results thus obtained. The approach, then, has been linguistic in every sense of that term.

A cursory glance at the history of kinship theory suffices to show that a truly linguistic approach in this field is something of an anomaly. Morgan may be said to have initiated a 'sociological' rather than 'linguistic' tradition, and this tradition has been perpetuated by Rivers, Radcliffe-Brown, Seligman, Spier, Gifford, and indeed the vast majority of all anthropologists who have actively concerned themselves with kinship problems. It is not so much that the relevancy and value of linguistic evidence has been denied as it is that linguists have not been interested specifically in kinship, nor kinship theorists in linguistics. Indications are not lacking that this historical dissociation is on the road to disappearance, but for the immediate present, at any rate, we must bear with it.

●121 The need for a reorientation in kinship theory was
114 first expressed by Kroeber in a classic article that appeared over thirty years ago (1909). This analysis led to much controversy on the general topic of sociological vs. psychological causation, with Radcliffe-Brown joining in the chorus, and the "eight categories" set up by Kroeber have exerted some influence, e.g. they have been applied by Feng to the Chinese terminology system. The theoretical implications were developed much later, and along altogether different lines, by Davis and Warner. Kroeber himself, building on an earlier analysis by Opler, has reconstructed the main features of the Athabascan kinship terminology, while Shimkin, one of his pupils, has made a more intensive study of the Uto-Aztecan system. Insofar as the writer is aware, none of the remaining American language groups has received similar attention, despite the fact that ample material, and in some instances linguistic studies, are available. Aside from the above, only Seligman's review of the Semitic terms, and Milke's analysis of the Melanesian and Polynesian sibling terms, have come to the writer's attention.

In the above studies by Kroeber, Shimkin, Seligman, and Milke, the historical relationships of the terms themselves are considered and some use is made of linguistic generalizations. Shimkin in particular has profited from Sapir's and Whorf's work on Uto-Aztecan phonology, and has thus been able to incorporate a fair body of linguistic information into his work. Seligman's article is deficient from the linguistic

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114 point of view, and it is apparent that the author lacks even a partial command of comparative Semitic philology. Milke's work shows the same shortcoming, despite the availability of Dempwolff's epoch-making studies on Austronesian phonology. Kroeber has stressed the point that even non-specialists can profitably engage in comparative studies of this type, and the point is well taken. There remains, however, the fact that the risk of grievous misinterpretations is greatly heightened under these conditions, and that many fine points, often of crucial importance, must be missed altogether.

121 The writer has attacked his problem from the same general linguistic angle but in a somewhat different manner. A vast and sprawling linguistic structure such as Tibeto-Burman cannot successfully be attacked simply by seizing upon a few roots, or upon a few English equivalents, and tracing their vagaries from language to language. This methodological eclecticism might prove to be 'convenient', but would be about as effective as delapidating a skyscraper with the aid only of a pickaxe. Again, one might compile interminable lists of terms for some two hundred Tibeto-Burman languages and dialects, which would be unintelligible to everyone with the possible exception of the compiler. Once more, one might draw up elaborate maps showing the distribution of certain roots for kinship terms, or of certain terminological features, and attempt to derive various conclusions therefrom. This last approach, at any rate, is not to be

121 summarily dismissed, but the writer fails to see how the expenditure of time and effort involved in such work can be justified in the present connection.

The approach adopted in the present work might be termed the 'direct method', in that each language or language-group is handled as a unit, along with the relevant ethnographic data, and an attempt is made to view each nomenclature as a functional entity with intra-relationships as well as extra-relationships. In this way a succession of patterns is presented rather than a series of disembodied etymologies or disjointed sets of sibling terms, grandparent terms, and the like. The comparative side is not lost sight of, however, and the writer does not shy at historical reconstruction. His approach is based, not on any metaphysic of kinship, but on practical expediency. He simply sees no other way of creating a <u>complete</u> picture of the culturo-linguistic situation with which he is faced. The linguistic material has been made especially full with the same end in mind. It must not be forgotten that kinship terms are, after all, linguistic elements, even though often handled more as if they were fish-traps or types of arrow release, and that linguistic coloring is all-important in shaping the semantic associations of any given term. It is hoped that what may at times seem to be extraneous matter will be regarded in this light.

Theoretical discussions are in general avoided, since one easily strays from the immediate problem at hand. Problems

121 are met as they arise, but the solutions offered are not generalized in any way. Thus, in the Tibeto-Burman area the collateral and affinal terminology seems to reflect marriage and descent patterns fairly, and a correlation between unilateral (asymmetric) cross-cousin marriage and the Omaha type of nomenclature is suggested. A comparison is made en passant with a similar association of traits found at Pentecost, and parallels can be adduced from elsewhere (e.g. the Hopi, if Tetiev's inferences are correct), but no attempt is made to develop this thesis.

The more general problem in re the relationship of kinship nomenclature to social organization, marriage practices, and the like, has been attacked only indirectly. Kroeber (1936) has compared this relationship with that of dress to body, with the remark that "one expects normally a considerable degree of fit". One might elaborate on this apt comparison by likening the fit of the "basic" terms ("father", "mother", "brother", "son", etc.) to that of the undergarments, and the fit of the collateral and affinal terms to that of the exterior garments, the latter showing much the greater variability. Aginsky has begged the question by applying the term "basic terminology" to the affinal nomenclature, and "superstructure" to the consanguineal. Aginsky undoubtedly has made a contribution in his analysis of the process whereby the child takes over the terms employed by its mother or father, but his elaborate treatment of this thesis does not appear to be justified, and the designations that he has introduced certainly cannot be accepted.

121 The exclusive emphasis on marriage as a causative factor
114 in kinship terminology, found both in Rivers and Aginsky though in different form, appears to be losing ground steadily; cf. the excellent studies by Tax, Eggan, McAllister, Opler, and Gilbert (in Eggan, 1937) and Opler (1937).

121 No use has been made of the terms "classificatory" and
128 "descriptive", each of which has acquired so wide a range of
601 connotations as to have lost all preciseness. The term "analytical" is used in its basic linguistic sense, e.g. "father's brother" is an analytical term, whereas "uncle" is a primary term. Note that a term may be only partly analytical, e.g. "uncle's son", where the fully analytical term would be "father's brother's son" or "mother's brother's son".

Three types of terminological equations are distinguished, as follows:

1. Categorical equation: equation of members of the two different categories of kin (consanguineal and affinal), e.g. "mother's brother"= "father-in-law".

2. Lineal equation: equation of members of two different lines of descent, e.g. "brother"= "father's sister's son", "son"= "brother's son".

3. Serial equation: equation of members of two different generations, e.g. "son"= "grandson".

These terms are to be regarded as convenient tags of some use in describing patterns of nomenclature, e.g. the Omaha and Crow types are characterized by serial equations in the cross collateral lines. The equation may rest on the extension

121 128 601 of a term through analogy or teknonymy, e.g. "grandfather" = "father-in-law" (teknonymy) or on the merging of the referents, e.g. "mother's brother" = "father-in-law" in a group practising cross-cousin marriage. One's explanation of a given system of nomenclature depends in large measure on his analysis of these factors, and one must guard against a premature assumption in either direction. Other equation categories can be established, e.g. the equation of elder and younger siblings, but those cited above have proved to be the most useful.

A final word remains to be said with regard to the system of notation employed. For each language considered in detail, a table of terms is drawn up, with those referring to female kin on the left, those referring to male kin on the right, and those without sex specification (neuter) in the center. This simple arrangement permits of rapid inspection of the table, and is more convenient than the charts of which kinship theorists are so fond. In the notation itself an attempt has been made to get away from the "bastard algebra of kinship", to use Malinowski's phrase (p. 19). Primary English terms are represented by capital letters, and English categorical terms by small letters. Since terms such as "aunt", "uncle", and "cousin" are often found in our sources, these have been retained in our notation. The letter N is used for "nephew, niece" (i.e. neuter), Ne for "nephew", Ni for "niece", and the cousin terms are formed analogically, viz. C "cousin (neuter)", Ce "cousin (male)", Ci "cousin (female)". Cf. also the parallelism in Si "sister" (S "son").

VIII

Kinship Notation

121	A aunt	Ni niece	
128	B brother	(os) (older than speaker)	
197	C cousin	p parallel	
601	Ce cousin (male)	P parent	
	Ci cousin (female)	S son	
	Ch child	Sb sibling	
	D daughter	Si sister	
	(ds) (different sex from speaker's)		
	F father	Sp spouse	
	g grand-	(ss) (same sex as speaker's)	
	l -in-law	U uncle	
	M mother	x cross	
	N nephew or niece	(ys) (younger than speaker)	
	Ne nephew		

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SECTION A

TIBETO-BURMAN

1. Introduction

●121 128 The Tibeto-Burman family of languages represents the center of gravity of the Sino-Tibetan-Karen-Thai linguistic complex (Indo-Chinese) and thus makes an ideal focal point in our study of kinship terminology in southeastern Asia. The diversity within this family, roughly comparable with that of Indo-European, has given rise to great terminological variation, the interpretation of which involves an historical perspective. Tibeto-Burman, therefore, provides a testing-ground for methods as well as a point of departure, and an analysis of kinship nomenclature in this Western division of Indo-Chinese yields a framework within which the nomenclatures of Karen, Chinese, and Thai, or the Eastern division of the group, can be defined.

Tibeto-Burman studies have suffered somewhat from the undue prominence given to Chinese by the epoch-making work of Bernhard Karlgren and Henri Maspero. The classic contribution in the field, Conrady's analysis of the so-called "causative-denominative" formation, is concerned almost exclusively with morphological aspects. The same may be said of the more recent and much more substantial studies by Wolfenden, while Houghton's interesting article on

121 "linguistic palaeontology" is essentially devoted to
128 semantics. Other studies in the general field, with the exception of those noted below, are entirely superficial and need not be cited here. The fact that a sound morphological and semantic analysis can proceed only from a sound phonological basis has gone largely unheeded by students of Tibeto-Burman linguistics. The writer, working in collaboration with Mr. Robert Shafer, has attempted to supply this basis. The fruit of their joint effort is embodied in the Sino-Tibetan Linguistics series as well as in individual articles by the co-authors. This series of volumes, as specified in the bibliography appended to the present introduction, covers most of the Tibeto-Burman divisions, the major exceptions being Miri-Dafla, Konyak (East Naga), Lepcha (Rong), and Lui (Kadu). The results achieved in the Sino-Tibetan Linguistics series are in no sense definitive, but a number of broad phonetic generalizations have been attained and in some instances rather detailed phonetic analyses have been completed. In the present study the writer has refined the analysis at many points and has in some places arrived at new interpretations, while the phonological treatment of Miri-Dafla, Lepcha, and other groups is presented here for the first time.

197 The Tibeto-Burman languages, like Karen, Chinese, and Thai, are characterized by the presence of monosyllabic roots and the employment of distinctive tones (tonemes).

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17. Review of Tibeto-Burman

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The present section has been written with a two-fold view in mind, viz. a provisional reconstruction of the archaic Tibeto-Burman kinship nomenclature and a synthesis of material bearing on the general problem of the factors that have produced changes in this archaic system. It is of course impossible to realize either of these goals in any complete sense. The reconstruction of a set of kinship terms differs very little from the reconstruction of any other group of terms, e.g. those for animals. In each case certain phonetic generalizations must be followed, and in each case original meanings must be assigned to roots on the basis of a series of fluctuating connotations. The difficult problem of "partial equations", in which a given root has a limited distribution, arises here precisely as in any other linguistic field (for a good recent discussion, vide Scherer, 1941). A distinction between the two types of reconstruction can be drawn, however, in the fact that kinship terms constitute a definite system whereas those for animals, parts of the body, or the like, do not constitute such a system. It is fairly evident that, within kinship nomenclature, a semantic shift at one point is likely to be reflected at another, or, in sociological terms, a single factor, e.g. cross-cousin marriage, is likely to produce a series of interrelated changes, whereas this in general does not hold true within other linguistic spheres. In this respect a kinship nomenclature might be compared with

SA a phonemic system, in which similar integration appears. The
121 point is not worth elaborating, since the fact that a kinship
601 terminology does constitute a system hardly relieves us of the
ST task of investigating each element of that system, both inde-
121 pendently and correlatively.
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In any piece of historical reconstruction, linguistic or other, the natural tendency is to make the prototype unduly complex. The writer has often been struck by the complexities shown by hypothetical reconstructed languages as compared with their actual living descendants, as though linguistic evolution always proceeded in the direction of simplification. The number of distinct roots assigned to these reconstructed languages is sometimes of staggering magnitude, and no ingenuity is spared in augmenting this lexicographical harvest. In the present study it would be easy to reconstruct an archaic nomenclature with two or more terms for most relationships, yet such a procedure patently would be futile. It is far better to determine, firstly, which elements are relatively certain, and, secondly, which elements are based largely on "partial equations" and must thus be held in reserve until a basic
SA framework has been set up. Nine roots, eight of which are
601 applied to consanguineal relatives, stand out in our complete
193 Tibeto-Burman series as culled from the foregoing review.
197 These roots constitute the following system:
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SA 601 ST 601 group with xC marriage and a type of bachelor's house with their immediate neighbors, the Tibetans, who practise polyandry rather than xC marriage (traces of the latter persist) and have nothing suggesting a bachelor's house. The same type of contrast is presented by the primitive Arakanese with xC marriage and premarital sexual freedom (Hutchinson, p. 113) and the sophisticated Burmese, who lack xC marriage and whose courtship pattern had become highly formalized even in medieval times (vide the interesting account by Kin). It is not suggested that xC marriage and premarital sexual laxity are necessarily correlated in any way, but, in the area under consideration, both appear to belong to the same general cultural stratum.

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SA ● [121] ST [121] The present study is of limited scope and comparative material has therefore been eliminated. The parallelism between the Kuki Omaha pattern and that found among the BaThonga and Nama Hottentot of South Africa, however, is too attractive to be omitted. The Nama Hottentot (Schapera, pp. 230 and ff.) employ the terms //náob gF,MB; //náos gM,MBW (but MB is now called omeb < Dutch oom "uncle", and MBW is now called mugis < Dutch moekie "little mother"); //núrib xCe,SiS(ms),gS; //núris xCi,SiD(ms),gD. This system can be converted into the Kuki type by limiting //núrib and //núris to FSiCh and applying //náob and //náos to MBCh. Schapera describes xC marriage of bilateral type, but notes that among